When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamairahó, who was already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papaneká (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changéd the subject, and jested with his wife.

Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the neighboring forest had been invented by Anavaní, a somewhat foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampaneá" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house, other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaó, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

[102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, another spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

536 726 with the pairs one behind the other, walked peacefully from house to house. They hummed a song. The first two pairs carried a blanket on their back, and the last pair carried a straw mat. A masked man followed, bent forward, dancing and shooting arrows at the mat. After a while the pairs lined up one beside the other and stayed put, humming their song, while the masked figure emitted the Kayapó tribal cry and danced in menacing fashion, stepping always on the same spot. A little later, the walk was resumed. This scene was repeated several times. Suddenly, however, when the pairs were standing still once more in front of a hut, two masked "Kayapó" rushed headlong from behind it, and four others emerged from behind the neighboring house. All [177] these "Kayapó" had bows or clubs in their hands and were completely disguised with hammocks, blankets, and other belongings of the White guests. Their faces were covered with sifters, and my straw hat had also found a use. While the three Tapirapé pairs kept walking as peacefully as before, the masked figures alternately ran furiously hither and yon, giving their typical cry, and performed a circular dance. In this dance, some of them faced the back of the man in front while others were turned [535] toward the man behind. They all jumped on one leg and then the other, tossing their arms and legs about and gesticulating with their weapons (Photo. 73). After repeating all this several times for half an hour, the "Kayapó" attacked one another and quarreled among themselves. Then the Tapirapé pairs quietly broke up and vanished.

This performance, therefore, contrasts the mildness which 191 is indeed the tribal behavior pattern of the Tapirapé with the nervous aggressiveness of the Kayapó. This seems to be a symbol of universal significance, when we look at the pacifists and militarists in other parts of the world.

The opinion of the Tupí tribe about the nature of these • 609 neighbors[1] seems to be expressed even in their mythology. While 773 the Karajá are regarded as descendants of a water serpent, the ancestor of the Kayapó is tantevoga, the tick. One of the proofs of kinship with those bugs, my informants say, is the falsetto tribal cry that they attribute to their northern foe. This proof, although it might not satisfy a biologist, is sufficient for the ethnologist. Actually, everyone knows that the tick is a pesky nuisance.

1 [i.e., the Kayapó.--Analyst]

apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separatists returned to Tampiitáua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican expedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilometers a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts, each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The people we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco Mandacarú's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in Tampiitáua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

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Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to welcome us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed